[P. 34 a]

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
266 afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ţomo´luna. This was due to a
● [753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

[P. 346]

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

● [753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Sukot´ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot´ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

[P. 359]

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times;
usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural
power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the
heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a
Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung
on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and
wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these.
It "caught the sickness" which then would be
squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibi-
tion. When curing, she sat in front of her
patient and held onto his head, meanwhile call-
ing on her dream helpers. She "went around to
fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two
beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came
and stood at each side of her feet. They told
her to ask God what she should do. Soon a
little baby came and sat near her; it was suck-
ing its fingers; she could hear it crawling
about in the leaves. No one came to help her.
Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob
Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of
the neck and at each temple and sucked. She
got better soon. A girl there cooked some
atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.
When she was a young woman, J.A. had
measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent
for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with
his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked
like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He
cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She
recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony
Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929).
The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of
the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered
from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwas.
He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow
and sucked out blood and a little white pointed
object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
● 753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any
special term. The poison itself is called añta-
'wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu).
Poisoning is thought to operate by means of
actual contact with poisonous substances which
may be put on any object which the victim is
likely to touch, or the poison may be adminis-
tered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisi-
ble. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling
of parts (thought to have been touched by the
poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

[P. 35b]

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar;
● 753 this was called mɛts aⁿta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɨl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɨpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787 objects and burned them--for instance, a person
828] in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɨpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was
[683 just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and
] died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɨpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɨpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 that T'pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and
●753 pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki'at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep'as, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[30] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[30] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´p:t)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´´at), weasel (po´hat), or beaver (?) (waki´´as) skins
[825 753 fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´p:k] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tek pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɨt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭɨpni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

[764] [237]

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

[752]

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

[P. 190 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi ʻyoti·yaš heʻba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Saiʻhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Cokonːk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, saneʻnaš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor,

755 Wewuʻkˑi (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tːpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Haiʻaiʻːč, had power from

157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spec-

273 tacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku'm:č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ič was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. [169] Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew (sic) was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip:t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip:t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu'us, "another grandfather" (great uncle?) of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could ●753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her
755 father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

1: Gayton E -S (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
CP. 244 bJ Western Mono NS2E

W Y 765 683

The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

W Y 754 683

An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

W Y 753 774

There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 245 a Mono NS25

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be W Y [789] based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

W Y 789 791 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su'mɨk and Taku'mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[22]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

[22] See anecdote, p. 394.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a